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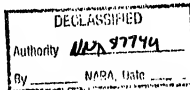
MEMORANDUM

TO : S - The Secretary

THROUGH: S/S

FROM : EUR - C. Burke Elbrick

SUBJECT: Positions on German Reunification and European Security
for a Possible Summit Meeting.



6/19/58

Discussion

There is attached a position paper which, if approved, will guide the US representatives in discussions of the Western position on German reunification and European security which will take place in the Four Power Working Group and in NATO next week. Except for one point on which there is a difference of opinion (measures to prevent surprise attack), the positions on European security and the link to reunification have been informally agreed with Defense.

The proposed positions involve some elaboration and clarification of the Geneva proposals on European security. They also involve modifications of certain aspects of the Eden Plan. However, they do not depart from the essential principles of the Geneva proposals. The principal changes which are proposed are the following:

1. Presentation

It is proposed to combine the European security proposals and the essential features of the Eden Plan into one unified plan. This plan would make clear the successive stages by which German reunification would be achieved and a European security treaty would go into effect. The plan envisages that the agreements would enter into force independently of the decision made by the all-German government with respect to its choice of alliances. The assurance to react against aggression contained in Article 8 of the Geneva draft would be offered separately by the Western Powers as an additional assurance in the event of a reunified Germany becoming a member of NATO. The Western Powers (excluding Germany) would also offer to undertake not to move their forces into the present Soviet Zone of Germany in this event.

2. Zone of Force and Arms Limitations

The Geneva proposals did not specify the size of the zone or the nature of the limitations. It is proposed that the zone constitute Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Ceilings would be

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By NARA, Date

Authority 1127744

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placed on forces without regard to national composition, thus leaving us free to maintain forces in Germany if it joins NATO.

3. Surprise Attack

The Geneva proposals provided for overlapping radar screens as a means of reducing the danger of surprise attack. The State Department proposes that we substitute the 5° - 35° (East) European inspection zone agreed to last year by NATO in the context of disarmament, but without reference to an Arctic or USSR-North American zone. The Defense Department is concerned that making this proposal might prejudice our position in the disarmament negotiations. It would prefer to eliminate this proposal or to make it conditional upon agreement on a USSR-North American or an Arctic inspection zone.

4. German Adherence to European Security Treaty

The Geneva proposals did not provide specifically for German adherence to the European security treaty. It is now proposed to require German adherence as a condition to the implementation of the surprise attack and force and arms limitation provisions. The incentive to the Germans to adhere is that only by doing so can they obtain the right to request the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Germany.

5. Existing German Treaties

The Eden Plan permits a reunified German Government to assume or reject any treaties made by the Federal Republic or the GDR. You have in the past expressed concern over the effect of this provision on the structure of German treaty relations with the West. It is now proposed to draw a distinction between treaties of political and military alliance and subsidiary arrangements, which would be governed by the Eden Plan formula, and other treaties, which would be automatically extended, subject to the right of the parties to decide otherwise and subject to the possibility of necessary adjustments being negotiated.

6. Reserved Rights of the Four Powers.

The provisions of the Eden Plan respecting the reserved rights of the Four Powers would be altered to terminate some of these powers upon fulfillment of the objectives for which they are retained and to make changes necessitated by alterations in the Bonn Convention on Relations which were agreed upon in the Paris Agreements of 1954. It is also proposed to substitute unanimity for majority vote in the exercise of the power of disapproval of German actions.

Recommendations:

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Recommendations:

1. It is recommended that you approve the proposed positions as a basis for discussions in the Four Power Working Group and in NATO.

Approve: _____

Disapprove: _____

2. It is recommended that you approve the proposal of the State Department for a European inspection zone.

Approve: _____

Disapprove: _____

Enclosures:

Position Paper, Future Status of Europe

Clearances:

C - Mr. Reinhardt

S/P - Mr. Smith

S/AE - Mr. Farley

L - Col. Raymond

G - Mr. Murphy

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6/17/58

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